

THE “CONDER” TOKEN
COLLECTOR’S JOURNAL
THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONDER TOKEN COLLECTOR’S CLUB
Volume IX Number 2 Summer, 2004 Consecutive Issue #32



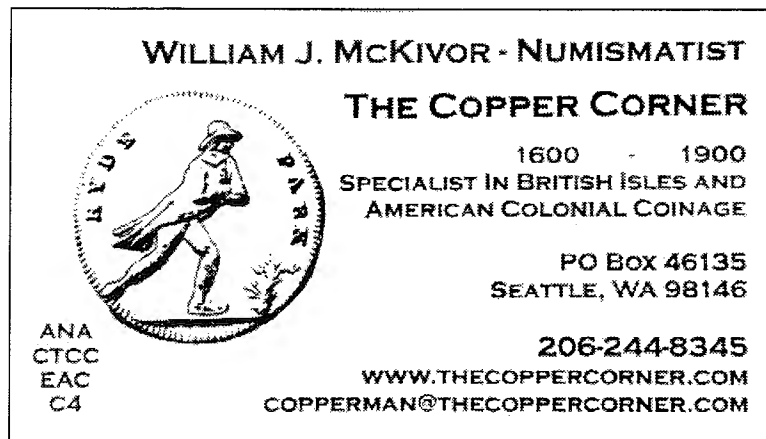
**SAMUEL HAMER EXAMINES A TOKEN
FROM HIS CABINET
PHOTOGRAPH SIGNED AND DATED 1906**

BILL McKIVOR—CTCC #3.

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INTRODUCTION

MICHAEL GROGAN

The official CTCC annual meeting will be at the A.N.A. Convention in Pittsburgh August 18th to 22nd. Our meeting will begin at 6:30 p.m. on Friday August 20th in Room 235 of the David L. Lawrence Convention Center. The traditional “pizza and beer” social gathering will begin after the meeting. This is a great opportunity to meet fellow collectors and talk tokens. Family members are welcome and we are hoping for a large turnout this year so make your plans now to attend this entertaining and educational event.

Our official club website www.conderclub.org has now logged over 10,000 visits. This is very good traffic for a small club site and your support of the website is appreciated. A new more secure message board is now available from the site so check in often to get the latest club news and post a message to the membership. Since the internet provides full color images you can display an exhibit of your favorite tokens or token personality on the website. Contact me for details and help developing and posting an exhibit.

Our members have contributed several entertaining and informative articles to this issue for your summer reading enjoyment. As always, your article is needed and I will be glad to help anyone start or polish an article on any aspect of collecting Conders or closely related tokens. Just contact me and be on your way to becoming a published author!

IN THIS ISSUE

R.C. Bell concludes his story of Thomas Paine in Token Tales and Samuel Hamer’s personal bookplate is on display. The long running series of Skidmore Churches by Simon Monks from his “S and B Coin and Medal Bulletin” continues and frequent author Tom Fredette explores 18th century humanitarian John Howard. Then Michael Knight presents a scholarly discussion of the classic Virtuoso’s Companion. Answer “What is it? Where is it?” to win a token from Bill McKivor and sample a bit of humor from your editor. George Selgin’s comprehensive three-part article concludes and Tony Fox explains why the Bacon of Dunmow needs a lawyer. I am very pleased to present this group of high quality articles to you.

ON THE COVER

This remarkable sepia photograph of Samuel Hamer is from a presentation copy of Hamer’s Notes on the Private Tokens, Their Issuers and Die-Sinkers originally published in “The British Numismatic Journal” 1905, 1906 and 1908. The photograph is signed and dated 1906 by Mr. Hamer. It shows him examining a token from his collection with a magnifying glass in front of his massive coin cabinet. Classic reference books on British tokens can be seen lying flat on top of the cabinet. This photographic image without the signature and date appears on the cover of issue 15 of the Journal where you can begin to read Hamer’s Notes. Since several years have passed since issue 15 and this photograph is signed by Hamer I felt it appropriate to feature it on the cover of issue 32. The book and photograph are recent additions to my token reference bookcase.

From the president's desk:

I would like to thank the following individuals for their interesting and important contributions to our last CTCC Journal, consecutive Issue #31:

Professor George Selgin for his terrific Britain's Big Problem, Part 2

Tom Fredette for An Even Dozen, cross-referencing some well known Conder artistry with designs found on unofficial farthings.

Dick Bartlett for Admiral Duncan

Simon Monks for a look at the ever classic Skidmore Churches, and

Mike Grogan for The Posture Master, the inclusion of articles by Pye and Bell, as well as his many hours and efforts to edit and publish another outstanding CTCC Journal.

Special thanks also go to Bill McKivor of The Copper Corner, James Morton and Tom Eden of Morton & Eden Ltd, Christopher Webb and Peter Preston-Morley of Dix Noonan Webb, and Allan Davisson of Davissons Ltd., for their terrific support of our club as expressed through their paid advertising space in the Journal.

As I write this on a Sunday morning, the 6th of June 2004...

It was 60 years ago today that the largest invasion force ever assembled was finally launched: The US 101st and 82nd airborne divisions landing in darkness, most nowhere near their intended landing sites. At dawn, landing on the beaches of Normandy: The US 1st Division at Omaha, the US 4th Infantry Division at Utah, the Canadian 3rd Division at Juno, the British 50th Northumbrian Infantry Division at Gold, the British 3rd Division at Sword, and the American 2nd Ranger Division throwing themselves at the cliffs of Point-du-Hoc. All of those wonderful, brave, terrified, and beautiful young boys set the stage that terrible day for the eventual liberation of the European continent from the unthinkable fate of Nazism.

When it had finally ended, in the Atlantic and in the Pacific, these men from Britain, Australia, Canada, the US and many others, had reaffirmed and secured for ourselves and future generations that individual freedom and liberty are unalienable, indomitable, and inevitable to the human spirit. The cost of attaining our freedoms has been terribly high, and the price of defending those hard won liberties has been no less dear. Brothers, fathers, sons, mothers and daughters: There are far too many who are not here with us today for having paid that ultimate price.

To those of you who were there that day, to those of you who have stood on any other battlefield: Please allow me to express, from all of us who love, appreciate and benefit from all of the freedoms and liberties we enjoy today, to those of you who have lost someone there or anywhere else since that time in the defense of freedom and liberty, our profound admiration and eternal gratitude.

We will never forget.

Sincerely,

Gregg Moore

Paine In Revolutionary France

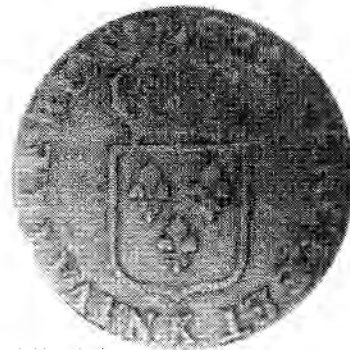
By R. C. Bell

Newcastle Upon Tyne, England

In 1789 Thomas Paine became a frequent guest of the leaders of the Whig party and met, on familiar terms, Edmund Burke, the duke of Portland, the marquis of Lansdown, Charles James Fox and other parliamentary personalities. These Whig leaders tried to use him to forge a new link with the 13 American states. Meeting with little success, their friendship chilled, and Paine returned to Paris in December 1789 where a revolt was gathering strength. The abuse of unlimited royal power to levy taxes; the exclusion of church lands from any form of taxation; the despotic rule of the French government; and the heavy weighting of the political system in favor of the aristocracy at the expense of the professional classes was causing widespread discontent.

On July 14, 1789 the people of Paris marched against the Bastille. A little later a mob of women conducted the king from Versailles to the Tuileries palace in Paris where he was detained under the protective custody of Lafayette and his National Guard. When Paine arrived in Paris in December

1789 the king was still in the Tulleries. On February 4, 1790 the king and queen declared before the National Assembly that they accepted the new order; but even as they made their statement they were conspiring with Austria and other foreign powers for an invasion of France.



French copper sou, 1788-K (Bordeaux Mint), with bust of Louis XVI. The reverse shows the royal arms, three fleurs-de-lys of gold on a blue field. At this time the king was still an absolute monarch.

Paine had known Lafayette well in the days of the American War of Independence and the

friendship was renewed. New friendships were made with Danton and Brissot. Lafayette gave Paine the key of the Bastille to send to George Washington as a token of respect between the two nations. It now hangs in the hall of George Washington's home, Mount Vernon.



Edmund Burke is portrayed on an English political penny token of 1798.

The French Revolution was at first regarded as a much needed reform of government and met with the approval of the English Liberals. None then foresaw the wholesale slaughter of French nobility and redistribution of their property, the abolition of religion, and the execution of the king. The Tories, however, viewed the French uprising with disquiet and bribed Edmund Burke, a leading Liberal to become a secret agent of the Crown, receiving 1,500 pounds a year for his services as an orator and author.

Under Tory direction Burke began to write "Reflections on the Revolution in France" in which he upheld the "divine

right of kings" and castigated the leaders of the French reform movement. The work was published on November 1, 1790 and as soon as Paine had read it he began a reply, "The Rights of Man". Part One was published in March 1791, and Part Two a year later.

Paine's masterpiece was the most important political work of the era, and the ideas incorporated in it have become part of the 20th Century way of life; but when it first appeared his ideas seemed to the Establishment to be explosive and highly dangerous.

Paine advocated internationalism and a brotherhood of man, a League of Nations and World Court. He wanted to abolish slums, illiteracy, disease and class distinction. The book aroused great interest in America, England and France, but the author gave away all his earnings from it to help societies promoting liberal ideas!

As soon as Part One was published Paine returned to Paris; where he stayed as the guest of Lafayette, who was commanding officer of the troops in the capital, and custodian of the king and queen. On June, 1791, the royal pair and their family escaped from the Tuilleries palace and fled in a coach towards the German border. They were stopped a few miles short of safety and brought back

to Paris June 25, 1791. Paine stood silent and bewildered in the midst of the jeering crowd that greeted the royal return, and wondered why they had not been permitted to escape, an eminently satisfactory solution to the problem of an unwanted king.

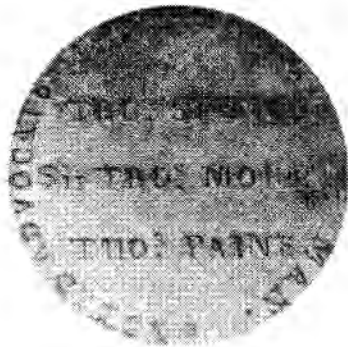
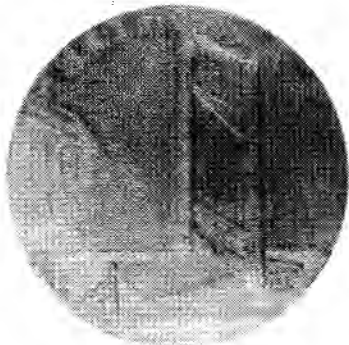


Figure 26. English political token. Inscription: NOTED ADVOCATES FOR THE RIGHTS OF MAN. THOS SPENCE / Sir THOS MORE / THOS PAINE.

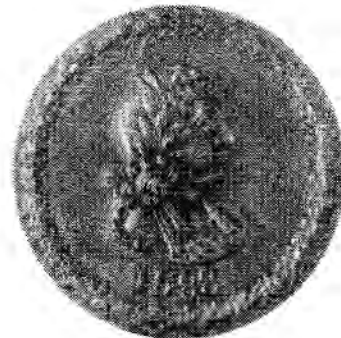


English political token. The design of the guillotine was taken from a woodcut which appeared in a French print of the period.

In July 1791, Paine organized the Societe Republicaine; its aim being the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a French republic. Until the flight of the king, the reform movement had been confined to the removal of abuses in public life: now the abolition of hereditary aristocracy and kings

was envisaged with the setting up of a new form of government. Paine demanded the abdication of the king and the abolition of royalty in France.

Shortly afterwards, Paine returned to London to write the second part of "The Rights of Man". He also sat for a portrait by George Romney, which has been lost, though there are a few copies of an engraving of the picture.



English political token with bust of William III; the date 1688 refers to the overthrow of James II by the Dutch prince. This 1790's-era penny token may have been struck for the Revolution Society.

In November 1791, Paine was the guest of honor at the annual dinner of the Revolution Society. His toast was to "The Revolution of the World", and his remarks were carefully relayed by spies to the English government who regarded Paine

as a dangerous revolutionary. Pressure was placed on the publisher of "The Rights of Man, Part II" which was in the press, and he was so alarmed that another publisher had to be found.

The storm aroused by "The Rights of Man" in England has never been equaled by any other publication. Many political tokens were struck, a few favoring the reformer, but the majority were extremely hostile. (See figures 25, 26 and 27.) Bonfires were made of his books and effigies of Paine were burned on village greens and at crossroads throughout the country. This mob violence was undoubtedly inspired by the government in an attempt to neutralize the effects of "The Rights of Man"



Medal struck by Matthew Boulton at Soho Mint, diesinker Conrad Kuchler, shows Marie Antoinette on her way to the guillotine in Place de la Concorde.



English political token shows Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. The reverse inscription records the execution of the king January 21, 1793, and his queen October 18, 1793.

When this failed the Tories decided to suppress the book itself. A summons was issued against the printer, J. S. Jordan, who turned king's witness against the author in an attempt to avoid imprisonment. Paine was summoned to appear in court and the same day, May 21 1792, a royal proclamation banned the printing, selling and circulating of the seditious publication, "The Rights of Man."

Paine appeared in court on June 8, 1792 to offer his defense, only to find that the case had been postponed until December.

The royal proclamation had the opposite effect to that intended, and served as a tremendous advertisement for the secret sale of illicit copies; while all over the country Tory meetings were held to congratulate the government on this suppression. These meetings inspired Paine to write "A Letter Addressed to the Addressers"; a biting epistle of 20,000 words ridiculing the Hanoverian king who occupied the English throne, and the favorites and politicians that he had gathered about him.

In August 1792 the French National Assembly conferred on Paine the title of "Citizen of France" and he was invited to represent Calais in the National Convention. An emissary was sent to escort him to France at the very moment when the British Home Office had decided to arrest him and seize his papers.

William Blake, the poet, warned Paine at a dinner of his impending arrest and managed to persuade him to flee to France where he was needed, rather than face imprisonment or death in England. Paine traveled by fast coach to Dover with the French emissary and took ship for Calais, but the vessel had hardly cleared the harbor when a Home Office official arrived on a galloping horse to prevent his escape. Paine's arrival at the French port was that of a hero. Salutes

were fired from the shore batteries, and troops and cheering citizens escorted him to his lodgings.



Figure 27. English political token — a Tory piece. Presumably the men on Figure 26 meet their just end. Note the oblique reference on reverse to "The Rights of Man". The date Jan 21, 1793 refers to the execution of Louis XVI.

Paine never returned to England. He was tried in absentia and found guilty of high treason; being condemned to death and declared an outlaw in England and all British dominions. Following this trial proceedings were taken against printers and publishers of "The Rights of Man" and several were imprisoned.

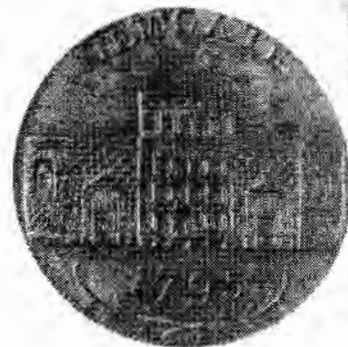
A bitter political token shows Newgate prison on the obverse and an inscription on the reverse: PAYABLE AT THE RESIDENCE OF MESSrs

SYMONDS WINTERBOTHAM
RIDGWAY & HOLT; all prisoners
within its walls! Three of these
men were printers; and the
fourth, the Reverend Winter-
botham a dissenting clergyman
from Plymouth who preached a
number of "seditious" sermons.



English 1795 political token.
Conjoined heads of George III and
that patient ass, the British public.

When Paine took his seat in
the National Convention in Paris
on September 21, 1792 as a
deputy from the department of
Pas-de-Calais, he was given a
standing ovation by his fellow
members. Next day the con-
vention formally abolished
royalty in France. The National
Convention was formed of two
factions. The moderates were
known as Girondins and
believed in the private
ownership of property and were
opposed to violence. Paine was
a Girondin. The other faction
consisted of extremists who met
at the Jacobin Club in Paris.
The Jacobins advocated
nationalization of the estates of
the nobility and the church;
redistribution of wealth, and the
execution of all who did not
agree with their views.



English political halfpenny
token of 1795 shows the front of
Newgate prison. The reverse
inscription is biting sarcasm—the
four men were prisoners within
Newgate's walls; three for print-
ing Paine's works and one for
preaching reform sermons.

One of the first acts of the
Convention was to bring Louis
XVI to trial on a charge of high
treason for inviting Austria and
Prussia to send armies to
France, and for supplying them
with military information which
had come to him as head of
state. There was no doubt
about the truth of the
accusations and the result of the
trial was certain, but the
sentence was problematical.
The Jacobins demanded his
execution, the Girondins wished
to reduce this to imprisonment.
Paine spoke on several
occasions and strove to save the
king's life. He suggested that
Louis Capet, once king of

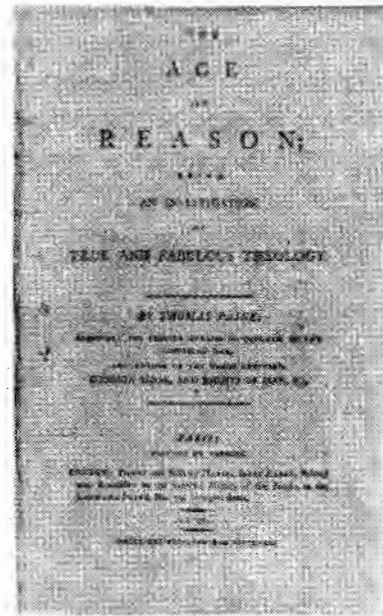
France, should be exiled to America, since execution achieved nothing. Many delegates agreed, but the attempt to save the king was lost by 387 votes to 334. The following day January 21, 1793, Louis XVI was beheaded by the guillotine.



French 1794-1795 token for three sous, payable in exchange for assignats (paper notes of the Republic). Token was issued by Caisse de Bonne Foi.

As the months passed the Jacobins gained in strength. On October 3, 1793, 12 Girondin deputies were beheaded in Paris. On October 31, 21 Girondin members of the Convention perished; and early in 1794 22 Girondins were removed from the convention in one day. Paine watched sadly as the French Revolution turned into a murderous crusade, with men and women executed on

the flimsiest of pretexts, or none at all.



Cover of the original edition of Paine's famed "The Age of Reason", printed in Paris by Barrois and in London by Daniel Isaac Eaton in 1795.

In September 1793 the Convention created a Committee of Public Safety of 12 members who became the new rulers of the country. Paine was not one of these, and rarely went even to meetings of the Convention, for nearly all of his friends were dead or in prison. He knew that his own arrest was not far away; his defense of the king had made him a marked man and he turned his attentions instead to a new work, "The Age of Reason."

Late in December 1793 Paine was expelled from the Convention, but he had managed to finish the last page of the first part of "The Age of Reason" a few hours before he was arrested by a squad of

gendarmes, and had passed the manuscript to an American friend, Joel Barlow, with a request to have it published.



Presumably the "Knave of Jacobin Clubs" is Maximilien Robespierre.

Paine spent more than ten months in the Luxembourg prison, waiting for help. Thomas Jefferson, the American minister to France had been recalled late in 1792, and his place had been taken by Gouverneur Morris, an aristocrat whose democracy was lukewarm, and who hated Paine and his beliefs in the rights of the common man. Before Paine's arrest Morris had seized every opportunity to undermine his authority in France by subtle insinuations; when he was imprisoned Morris sent misleading reports to George Washington and Paine's other friends, hoping that he would be executed before help arrived.

Meanwhile Joel Barlow had "The Age of Reason, Part I" published by Barrois in Paris early in 1794. This book confirmed Morris in his belief that Paine should be destroyed. Paine did not regard the Bible as being infallible, or even as the

Word of God; but as a human document of great importance. Paine thought that there was one God and hoped for a future life; he believed in the equality of men, and that religion should extend justice and mercy to all. He was bitterly opposed to dogma and sectarian division, and deplored the alliance of church with state to hold the populace in subjection.



English token says: OUR FOOD IS SEDITION — typical of the anti-Whig propaganda of the period.

Gouverneur Morris denied Paine American citizenship, saying that he was a naturalized Frenchman. Robespierre was uncertain of the effect Paine's execution would have on French-American relations, and while he delayed, Gouverneur Morris was recalled and James Monroe became the minister in August, 1794. On arriving in Paris Monroe was amazed to find that Paine was still in prison, and on November 2 he wrote to the Committee of General Surety and asked for Paine's release as an American citizen against whom no charge had been made.

Within four days the prisoner was released; but he

had been ill for weeks and could barely stand. Monroe took him to his own residence and arranged for medical care. During his convalescence Paine finished writing the second part of "The Age of Reason" which he had started while in prison; but then he had a serious relapse and was expected to die.

He rallied, however, but never recovered his former energy, and for the rest of his life tired easily on mental or physical exertion.



Figure 25. English political token showing a man hanging from the gallows. Legend: END OF PAIN.

During his imprisonment Paine's regard for General Washington turned to contempt as the months slipped by with no sign from the president. He did not know of Gouverneur Morris' treachery, and that nothing favorable to him had reached the president. In 1796 Paine published a "Letter to George Washington", a bitter attack on his friend for neglect while he suffered in prison. This ill-advised communication of a sick man did no harm to the

president, but gave Paine's enemies new opportunity to attack him.

In the same year while in Paris, Paine wrote "Decline and Fall of the English System of Finance", one of the first studies of inflation in any language. The Bank of England was printing vast quantities of paper money without adequate gold reserves, and without appreciation of the economic effects of such practices. Paine's experience was based on first hand study during and after the War of Independence. The book caused a sensation, and although the Treasury officials denied Paine's deductions, his prophecy that the Bank of England would suspend payments was soon a fact.

In 1797 Paine traveled to Le Havre to return to America with James Monroe, whose term of office was over; but British warships were patrolling the Channel and Paine was advised to wait for the arrival of an American man-of-war. Five more years passed before he finally returned to America, arriving in Baltimore October 30, 1802. He had been away for 15 years.

The rest of his life was spent in gathering shadow. The president, his friend Thomas Jefferson, was glad to see him but had little time to spare from his heavy duties. Other friends also welcomed him, but he no longer formed a part of their

lives and interests - he had been away too long.

The vindictiveness of his many enemies increased when they realized that their adversary was old, tired, and ill. Plantation owners hated him for his opposition to slavery; bigoted religious leaders reviled him for "The Age of Reason"; employers disliked his insistence on the rights of the working people. Paine published a series of seven articles about these matters: "Letters to the Citizens of the United States". They were anti-Federalist and made still more enemies for their author. The seventh letter outlined a plan for an association of nations, akin to the League of Nations, and antedating it by more than a hundred years!

In 1804 Paine retired to his property at New Rochelle. The house had been destroyed in a fire several years previously, but Paine had had a cottage built in its stead in 1793, which now serves as a Paine museum.

On Christmas Eve, 1804, a drunken laborer tried to shoot Paine as he sat at his desk. The shot was fired from outside the window at less than ten feet, but the man was very drunk and visitors may still see the hole just below the window sill made by the errant ball.

On election day in 1806 Paine went to the voting booth in New Rochelle to cast his vote but was refused admittance; the

supervisor who had been a Tory during the War of Independence declared that he was not a citizen. Paine had been in ill health for many months and this rejection made him feel an outcast. He left New Rochelle, never to return, and moved to New York, staying in a series of lodging houses.



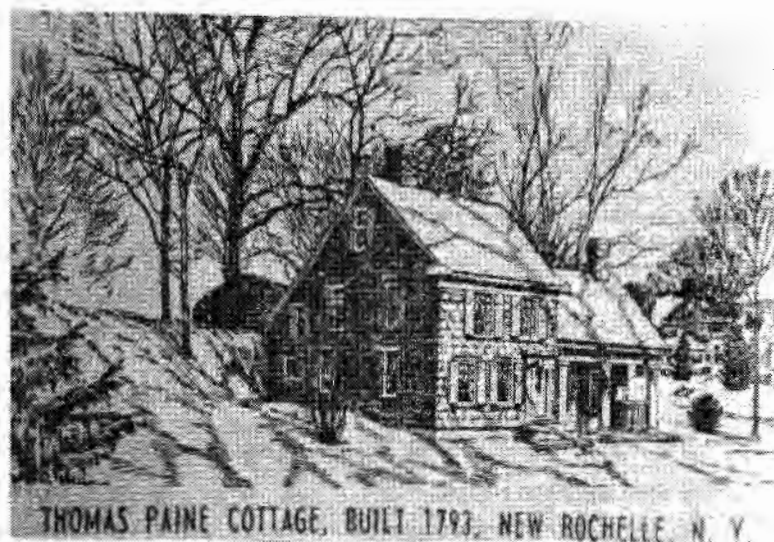
French five centimes of First Republic, W (Lille) Mint. L'An 7 refers to seventh year of the republic, reckoned from the day royalty was abolished — September 22, 1792 which became New Year's Day in the French Revolutionary calendar. This coin was struck in 1799.

He began to have "fits", probably due to senile changes in the cerebral arteries, and on several occasions was found in coma. He died June 8, 1809, and was buried on his farm at New Rochelle, the coffin being carried on a wagon guided by two Negroes who were to dig

the grave and lift the coffin into it; and followed by a carriage bearing a Quaker, and a woman whom Paine had befriended and her two children.

No one of distinction spared time to attend the funeral of the

outstanding political author of his generation, and a leading figure in the councils of two great republics.



SAMUEL HAMER'S PERSONAL BOOKPLATE



SKIDMORE CHURCHES IN THE CITY OF LONDON

St. Martin Ludgate

The first references to St Martin's were in historical documents in 1138, although it was suggested by Geoffrey of Monmouth that the Welsh hero Cadwalader founded the church in the 7th century. Burned down in the Great Fire, it was one of Wren's later churches rebuilt between 1677-87, with its lead spire carefully positioned in relation to St. Paul's. Apparently there is a point down Fleet Street where it exactly cuts the middle of the dome. The spire can still be seen over the housetops, with its little balcony, from the lane opposite near Apothecaries Hall, just as Wren intended his spires to be seen above the houses. This is one of the last such views left in the city.

The interior is most impressive with three thick arches separating the Ludgate Hill front from the main body of the church and between them is a screen to keep out the

noise from outside. Much seventeenth century woodwork survives, including the altar-piece, some fine doorcases and pulpit. The font is also of the same period and is inscribed with the Greek palindrome, NIYON ANOMHMA MH MONAN OYIN (cleanse my sin and not my face only). Hanging in the church is Benjamin West's painting Ascension.

North of the church are its churchyard and vestry and the west wall is part of the medieval city wall. The original obverse die quickly failed, being replaced with the one illustrated. There are small differences particularly in the removal of buildings either side or the church.



John Howard, F.R.S. - Humanitarian

Tom Fredette

Prison life isn't exactly a subject which is high on the list of most people. It certainly wasn't on the "list" of many people in late 18th century England. When Charles Dickens wrote about life in the Fleet Prison or Newgate (See: "The Pickwick Papers & Late 18th Century Tokens," Issue #11, March, 1999), he certainly gave the impression that "out of sight - out of mind" could and did describe the concern of many English citizens when it came to their brethren in prison for debt or sentenced to transportation to the colonies and who were residing in old, rotting ships known as "hulks."

Predating Dickens' humanitarian interest, and possibly someone who may have influenced his thinking on this subject, was John Howard, F.R.S. (Fellow of the Royal Society) a humanitarian and author of what was, and still is today, considered a monumental study of incarceration in the late 18th century: *The State of Prisons*.

Howard was born in Hackney in 1726 into a well-to-do family and lived most of his early life in a predictable and somewhat leisurely manner. He inherited a small fortune upon the death of his father and at the age of twenty-nine decided to revisit the Continent. In his book John Howard: Prison Reformer, D.L. Howard relates an event in the young man's life which changed him forever and may have set him upon a path from which he hardly ever wavered. "A few days after leaving Southampton his boat, the *Hanover*, was attacked and captured by a French ship (this was during the Seven Years' War) which took the crew and passengers as prisoners of war." It is said by some that because of the treatment Howard experienced during his time of imprisonment he developed an awareness of the plight of prisoners and a sympathy for them.



The first Prison for which Howard worked at Bedford



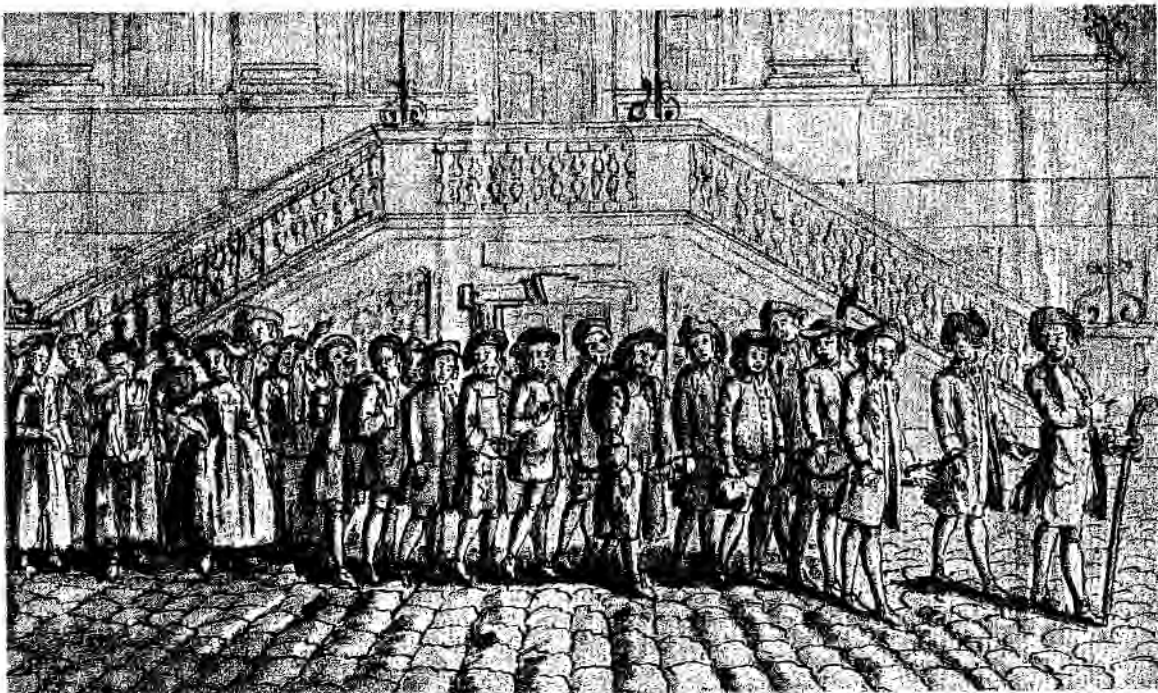
John Howard, oil painting by Mather Brown; in the National Portrait Gallery, London
By courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, London

In 1773, Howard was appointed High Sheriff of Bedford and in this position, even though he wasn't expected to do so (in fact many encouraged him not to do so), he decided to use his new office and its power to inspect the prisons in his jurisdiction. What he found sickened and displeased him and made him resolve to try to find out more about the life and conditions of the inmates.

Life in English prisons, as Howard was to later find, (or any 18th century prison) was cruel, harsh, demeaning and a strain on one's soul! A system of fees made it almost impossible for a debtor to break free of what seemed like endless financial obligations. One could be placed in prison solely upon being accused and while awaiting trial, even if found innocent, could be subject to many costs and arbitrary fees. The expenses to a prisoner, innocent or not, if not paid, could consign someone to a life inside the walls. Many other equally harsh conditions also prevailed.

Over a number of years Howard amassed much knowledge and information on types of prisons (there were many); standards for prisons (there were few); and the regulation of prisons (there was little), which enabled him to publish in 1777 *The State of Prisons in England and Wales; with Preliminary Observations ; and an Account of some Foreign Prisons*. This study and his previous observations of Bedford jails brought English prisons to the attention of the House of Commons. Howard was eventually credited with being instrumental in influencing "The House of Commons to pass two acts that stipulated (1) that discharged persons should be set at liberty in open court and that discharge fees should be abolished and (2) that justices should be required to see to the health of prisoners." (Encyclopedia Britannica)

He was, in addition, responsible for other laws relating to the reform and rehabilitation of prisoners by providing work for them so that they could learn skills which would be useful. Unfortunately, he found that a gap between getting a law passed and having it enforced existed. But he was the pioneer of English prison reform - the one who brought the problem of prisoner abuse to the attention of the public. He spent almost all of his adult life traveling throughout Great Britain and the European Continent as well as parts of Russia inspecting prisons and hospitals. Wherever unfortunate people were confined he tried to make life better for them.



Manacled Convicts being led through the streets of London (*Howard often protested against prisoners being exposed to the public gaze in this way, but closed vehicles were not used until early in the nineteenth century*)

It is interesting to note the varied ways in which Howard is depicted on the tokens of the late 18th century series. The Middlesex Social & Political Series 1d token (No. 207), as Waters tells us is more a laudatory medal than a token. The obverse shows us a complimentary portrait of John Howard. The reverse inscription is in Latin. (The writer, not knowing Latin very well but willing to take a stab at it anyway, makes a try at translating this inscription : "Not an ordinary man but one of greatness and nobility in his benevolence toward those not of his class.")



PORTSMOUTH.



Middlesex.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SERIES.

A similar, but 1/2d size portrait exists on Hampshire Nos. 53-57. On these tokens John Howard is referred to as a *philanthropist*, a reference, no doubt, to his desire to help his fellow man. The same portrait exists on Somersetshire (Bath) tokens Nos. 32 - 38 which more than the other issues portray a vignette and inscription which sums up Howard's life's work: "Go forth. Remember the debtors in goal." In Specious Tokens Bell notes that "The spelling of gaol as goal was not an error, but an accepted form in the eighteenth century though as Dr. Johnson remarked, 'improperly'. Looking at the token and noting Howard's work we are struck at the poignancy of the legend.



Somersetshire.



A last token pictured in D&H is a 1/4d which shows a male portrait garbed as a noble Greek or Roman most likely a reference to the esteem in which Howard was held. In addition, the Bobbes inform the membership in their letter which appeared in Issue #6, of Sussex Nos. 18-20 which have the same portrait as Hampshire No. 55 but are not listed in the D&H index.

Warwickshire.
FARTHING.
BIRMINGHAM.



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From time to time, he was warned against continuing his strenuous schedule. Although he was aware of the dangers to his life and health, he would continue his exhaustive journeys, investigations and writings. It is reported that he died on January 20, 1790 from fever while visiting hospitals in Russia. His funeral was "...attended by a squadron of cavalry and two or three thousand spectators. (His gravestone)...a block of marble, supporting a sundial, (announces) in Russian and Latin:

John Howard

Whoever thou art, thou standest
at the tomb of thy friend.
1790.

(D.L. Howard)



Howard visiting Prisoners

Today, John Howard societies exist throughout the world, especially in Great Britain and Canada. There are, also, a number of web sites with brief biographies and testaments by those who have inherited his legacy of concern for those who suffer misery over which they have no control. In his excellent book on the life of this man, D.L. Howard relates..."some words which are still, unfortunately, relevant today: 'Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery which prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying: "*Let them take care to keep out*"forget the vicissitudes of human affairs; the unexpected changes to which all men are liable; and that those whose circumstances are different, may in time be reduced to indigence and become debtors and prisoners.'

Major Source

Howard, D.L., *John Howard: Prison Reformer*, New York, Archer House Inc, 1958.

See Also:

Welch, Harold, "John Howard -The Man on the Token," *The "Conder" Token Collector's Journal*, Fall, 2001, pp. 12-15.

From the Appendix of *John Howard: Prison Reformer* this table is of note:

COVENTRY CITY AND COUNTY GAOL- *A Table of Debtor's Fees*

	£	s.	d.
Every prisoner that lies on the keeper's side if he has a bed to himself pays by the week	0	2	6
Those prisoners on the keeper's side and have a bed between two, pay each by the week	0	1	6
If on the common side, each prisoner weekly	0	0	6
To the gaoler for discharging every prisoner committed or detained in custody	0	13	4
To the turnkey on every discharge	0	2	0
To the under-Sheriff for every discharge	0	4	0
For receiving and entering every declaration	0	1	0
For a copy of each warrant against each prisoner	0	1	0
For every certificate of the cause of a prisoner being detained in order for being discharged	0	3	0

SAML. VALE, *Mayor*
JOHN CLARK

JOHN MINSTER
THOS. L. SMITH

20th March, 1778. - I have reviewed the above Table of Fees and do hereby establish and confirm the same.

W.H. ASHURST

From *The State of Prisons*, 4th Edition. It will be noticed that the total cost to a prisoner of discharge from Coventry was £ 1. 2. 4d, in addition to the fees for board and lodging during his stay in goal.

Notes on the 'Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collector's Guide' (1795-1797)

I am not a specialist collector of Conder tokens, although I do own a group as part of my collection of tokens and medallions of Hampshire from the seventeenth century to date. Ever since I started to buy mixed lots of coins and tokens to acquire the Hampshire pieces in them, I have found the need to buy token and medallion books to help me identify and evaluate the non-Hampshire pieces in these lots. This caused me to have a love affair with all token books, and I have been slowly building my library. Starting with the "current" (some of these were published in the nineteenth century!) reference books first, I moved about 10 years ago to start buying those of antiquarian interest only.

In trying to build my token reference library one book I coveted on Conder tokens was Denton and Prattent's "Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collector's Guide". Sets of the full 240 plates rarely appeared because the book was issued in serialised parts over a period of a few years. The libraries of some notable token collectors dispersed over the last 20 years were either lacking a copy (Sykes, Farnell, and Anderson) or had incomplete parts (Jan only had 60 plates, but owned such rarities as a 1917 Pye, one of 20 copies of E A Tillett's 1882 work on Norfolk tokens, and Sharp's catalogue of the Chetwynd collection).

I noticed that there were differences in the descriptions of the contents of some bound sets when they were offered for sale. So I started to keep notes to help me tell whether any sets that I came across were complete. Now I have finally acquired a set, looking through it I discovered that some plates with the same engraved number in my copy show different tokens to those in other people's sets, or there are subtle differences in the engraving. All very confusing.

I thought that this article, based on my notes, may be of interest to others who own a copy or are looking for one.

Who were Denton & Prattent?

M Denton was an engraver and printer from London. According to the notes in WR Hay's (1761-1839) copy of the "Virtuoso's Companion" he was 'a man of no eminence in his art'⁽¹⁾. Hay generally had a low opinion of Denton. He believed that the work was supported by the manufacturers who issued the many mules and non-genuine trade tokens rife in this series – many of which were illustrated on the 240 plates – to encourage collectors to buy their productions.

Denton issued several tokens himself, including several showing details of what he did. Middlesex DH1053-1056, reads 'Denton Dealer in Coins Hospital Gate Smithfield', and Surrey DH16-19 reads 'Denton Engraver & Printer 7 Mead Row near the Asylum Lambeth'. His addresses given on the plates are various versions of Hospital Gate West Smithfield to Sept 1 1796, and 139 St Johns Street West Smithfield from Sept 12 1796 to Feb 11 1797.

Denton also published the excessively rare 'The Virtuoso's Guide in Collecting Provincial Copper Coins Being a Copious and Perfect Description of all that are Extant', printed for J. Hammond, 44 pages detailing 428 tokens, and priced at 6 pence.

T Prattent was an engraver, printer and printseller from London⁽²⁾. The plates show various versions of 46 Cloth Fair as his address, which was in Smithfields. He issued several tokens, including Middlesex DH459.

How were the plates sold?

Denton in his Preface outlines his intention to give an alphabetical list and facsimilies of 480 different tokens in 'four volume twelves' at a total cost of 20 shillings⁽³⁾. The plates were sold in "numbers". Each number cost 6 pence and contained 3 plates, each plate depicting 4 tokens. There were 10 numbers to a volume, which meant each volume contained 30 plates.

The first 4 volumes of 120 plates must have sold well, because Denton produced two further two volumes.

WR Hay stated in his copy that the numbers were produced in weekly parts, but looking at the actual dates on the plates this was not always the case. The first 4 numbers were sold every 2 weeks. From 1st September 1795 to 17th November 1796 the gap was usually every 10-11 days, thereafter a mainly weekly interval started (with a 2 month gap between Volume 6 finished by Denton and Volume 7 started by Prattent) until 13th May 1797, when the plates stopped being month/day/year dated.

A summary of the numbers, plates and dates appears below:

Volume	Plates	Date range	Numbers	Publisher
1	1-30*	July 10 1795-Oct 22 1795	1-10	Denton
2	31-60	Novr 2 1795-Feb 4 1796	11-20	Denton
3	61-90	Feb 15 1796-May 19 1796	21-30	Denton
4	91-120	May 30 1796-Sep 1 1796	31-40	Denton
5	121-150	Sep 12 1796 – Dec 1 1796	41-50	Denton
6	151-180	Dec 7 1796 – Feb 11 1797	51-60	Denton
7	181-210	Apr 22 1797 – (plate 192) May 13 1797. Plates 193 onwards all dated 1797.	61-70	Prattent
8	211-240	All 1797**	71-80	Prattent
<u>Notes</u> *The first 3 plates are not numbered. **From the available evidence it seems as if Prattent struggled to keep up a regular interval when producing the final plates, and probably tried to hide this by dropping the mm/dd/yy from plate 193 onwards. Wrappers for number 76 (to plate 228) carry the date 1797. However 2 unnumbered wrappers are known to exist dated 1799. So up to the last 12 plates could have taken around 2 years to produce, although I'm not convinced this is an explanation for the 1799 date. An alternative explanation is that the 1799 wrappers contained re-issued plates.				

WR Hay was of the opinion that the plates were not badly done, considering how cheaply they were produced. However he thought they did not compare to the quality of Pye's plates,

and should not be relied upon for accuracy. For some reason Denton stopped publishing after volume 6, and T Prattent took over. The quality took a slightly downward turn under Prattent

What should be in a complete set?

- Frontispiece depicting and titled “History Protecting Medals from the Ravages of Time”
- Preface (1 page)
- “Observation on Coins” by James Wright (4 pages). This is rare. RC Bell writing in 1963 was unable to find it in two copies of the ‘Virtuoso’s Companion’ he had the opportunity to examine⁽⁴⁾.
- Numbered engraved title pages for all 8 volumes.
- Index (15 pages, which cover the first 120 plates)
- Index to the Continuation (8 pages, which cover plates 121-180)
- Index (7 pages, which cover plates 181-240)
- Printed Title to the Continuation. This is very rare

While not an integral part of the work, you may be lucky enough to find very rare printed blue or pink wrappers that the numbers were originally sold in. I have only seen these mentioned once⁽⁵⁾. These were for numbers 63, 64, 65, 67, 71, 72, 75, 76 (all dated 1797), and two unnumbered numbers (dated 1799).

Varieties and missing plates

Plate engraved 137: Exists with and without a date below St Paul’s. The dated variety is very rare⁽⁶⁾.

Plate engraved 187: Two plates depicting different tokens exist with engraved number 187. Both are dated May 6 1797. One variety has Trinity Church as the 1st token, and the publisher and date details under the 4th token’s obverse and reverse. The other variety has White Friars Gate as the 1st token, and the publisher and date details between the obverse and reverse of the 4th token.

Plate engraved 188: Does a plate engraved 188 exist? One of the two 187 varieties could have been changed, but I have not seen the evidence to confirm this.

Problems with the sequence of engraved numbers really starts with plate 195 and seem to have been sorted by plate 202. This means that most copies have some or all of the engraved numbers on these plates altered in pencil or ink by their previous owners so that a numerical sequence can be followed.

Plate engraved 195: Two plates depicting different tokens exist with engraved number 195. One variety has the Gloucester & Berkeley Canal token as the 1st token, and the publisher and year details between the obverse and reverse of the 4th token. The other variety has the Birmingham Workhouse Erected 1733 as the 1st token, and the publisher and year details under the 4th token’s obverse and reverse.

Hamer on page 2 of Dalton & Hamer’s introduction says that the Gloucester & Berkeley Canal token became plate engraved 201 in a later issue of the work he had seen.

Plate engraved 198: Hamer in Dalton & Hamer's introduction says that two plates are marked 198. My copy of plate 198 depicts 'Aldergate Jaools' as the first token. The other 198 according to Hamer depicts St Catherines Coleman Street, and this plate became engraved 199 in a later issue of the work seen by him.

Plate engraved 199: Two plates depicting different tokens exist with engraved number 199. The copy in my set has St Catherines Coleman Street as the first token. This ties in with the comments made above on plate 198. The other variety illustrated in TCSB Volume 5 Number 10⁽⁶⁾ has St James's Westminster shown as the first token. My set's plate engraved 200 exactly matches the St James's variety, and interestingly the plate engraved 199 illustrated in the TCSB has been hand amended to 200.

Plate engraved 201: According to Hamer no plate with an engraved 201 was issued in the early copies of the plates. This was to make up for the two engraved 195. Hamer goes on to say that one of the two plates engraved 198 (Gloucester & Berkeley Canal) had become plate 201 in a later issue he had seen.

The lesson here is to check any set closely. You could have a correct numerical sequence of engraved plate numbers, but two of the plates could show the same tokens – which means you are missing a plate.

Engraved title pages

My set has the full complement of 8 title pages for each volume. These are all dated 1797, as are the title pages in a set offered for sale by George Kolbe in 1996⁽⁷⁾ and further set described in CTCC Journal Volume 1 Number 2. My set has the same address on all title pages – M Denton No 139 St Johns St West Smithfield. The last 7 on the date is clearly engraved over the remains of a 6 on the titles of Volumes 1-5 and 7-8. The volume numbers of some titles may also have been similarly altered, but I can't satisfactorily make out the erased numbers.

The title pages of national works on tokens reproduced by Davis in his 1904 work⁽⁸⁾ shows a title for Volume 1 dated 1795 and with the M Denton Hospital Gate West Smithfield address. The only other note I have seen on titles⁽⁹⁾ states Volume 1 was dated 1795, and Volumes 2-5 1796, with the Hospital Gate address.

The existence of sets with title pages all dated 1797 would indicate that that some of the numbers were re-issued at a later date.

More Information Please

Undoubtedly these notes are not complete. I would welcome comments from other owners of this work if they have noticed further varieties in the plates. Does anyone have more details on Denton and Prattent, for example their christian names and when they died? Why did Denton stop after volume 6?

My set is missing the Printed Title to the Continuation – If anyone could send me a copy, that would be much appreciated.

Michael Knight (mikeknight@tinyworld.co.uk)

Sources & Notes

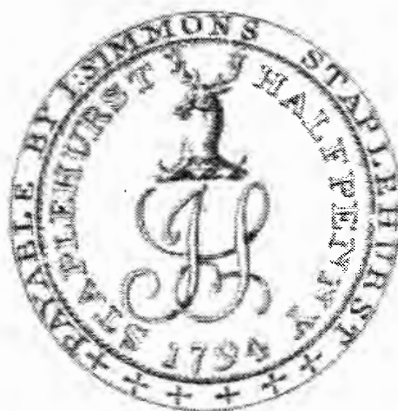
- (1) Token Corresponding Society Volume 1 Number 1 October 1971, pages 2-6. 'An Annotated Copy of "Virtuoso's Companion" by Peter Morley.
- (2) Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History. The London Book Trades 1775-1800, a Preliminary Checklist of Members.

Here Prattent is recorded from 1793. (www.devon.gov.uk/library/locstudy/bookhist).

Interestingly M Denton is not listed. A Thomas Denton, bookseller, Holborn is listed. Born in Yorkshire he was a bookseller in York for some years before coming to London circa 1780. Made mechanical figures which he exhibited, and a knowledgeable chemist. Carried on business of coach harness plating in Holborn jointly with bookselling. Fell in with a coinier, and was executed 1 July 1789. With both a numismatic, trade and name connection in common it is highly likely that Thomas was related to M Denton.

- (3) Explanation of Great Britain's pre-decimal currency. There were 240 pence to the pound. 12 pence made one shilling, so 20 shillings made one pound.
- (4) R C Bell 'Commercial Coins 1787-1804' (1963) page 306.
- (5) Conder Token Collector's Journal Volume 1 Number 2 1996, page 13. 'An American Library Featuring Rare and Standard Works on English Tokens' by George F Kolbe.
- (6) Token Corresponding Society Volume 5 Number 10 January 1992, pages 377-381. 'Die Varieties of the "Virtuoso's Companion" continued' by Alan A Miles.
- (7) Conder Token Collector's Journal Volume 1 Number 2 1996, inside front cover.
- (8) W J Davis 'Nineteenth Century Token Coinage' (1904)
- (9) Token Corresponding Society Volume 5 Number 2 June 1994, pages 60-68. 'Die Varieties of the Virtuoso's Companion' and Volume 5 Number 10 January 1997, pages 377-381. 'Die Varieties of the "Virtuoso's Companion" continued' by Alan A Miles

An engraving from "Virtuoso's Companion"



WHAT IS IT? WHERE IS IT?

By Bill McKivor



Mr. James Hartcup of London was kind enough to share this photo with me, and in turn I thought it might be of interest to the CTCC membership. In fact, I decided that to double the interest I should make you find it in D&H, and I shall be glad to give a token featuring these towers to the first person who correctly identifies the token or tokens with this feature somewhere on them. The photo itself was taken in 2003.

Mr. Hartcup has also volunteered to send along a bit of further information to print in the next issue--- which would give the location away if we printed it today!!

Send your educated guess to Bill McKivor, CTCC #3, at copperman@thecoppercorner.com or call me at (206) 244-8345.

Regards, Bill

An Except From

GOOD MONEY

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF HOW SOME

BIRMINGHAM BUTTON MAKERS

BEAT

GRESHAM'S LAW

DURING THE

LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THEREBY SOLVING GREAT BRITAIN'S LONG-STANDING

SMALL CHANGE PROBLEM

AND CLEARING THE WAY FOR

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

WITH PARTICULARS OF THE PRIVATE MINTS' ORGANIZATION, PRODUCTION,
COIN DESIGNS, AND COINAGE TECHNIQUES

AS WELL AS SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL DEVOTED TO

EXPLODING MYTHS

CONCERNING

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR A SUCCESSFUL SMALL-CHANGE SYSTEM,

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF

MATTHEW BOULTON, F.R.S.,

AND

THE ROLE PLAYED BY STEAM POWER

By George Selgin, B.A., Ph.D.,

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AUTHOR OF THE THEORY OF FREE BANKING, BANK DEREGULATION AND MONETARY ORDER, AND LESS THAN
ZERO: THE CASE FOR A FALLING PRICE LEVEL IN A GROWING ECONOMY.

ATHENS, GEORGIA:

THE AUTHOR

2004.

“BRITAIN’S BIG PROBLEM”

CONCLUSION : CONTINUED FROM ISSUES 30 AND 31

Brummagem Ha'pence

Understandably, shortages of official small change boosted the production and circulation of all sorts of unofficial money, including large quantities of counterfeit copper coins.

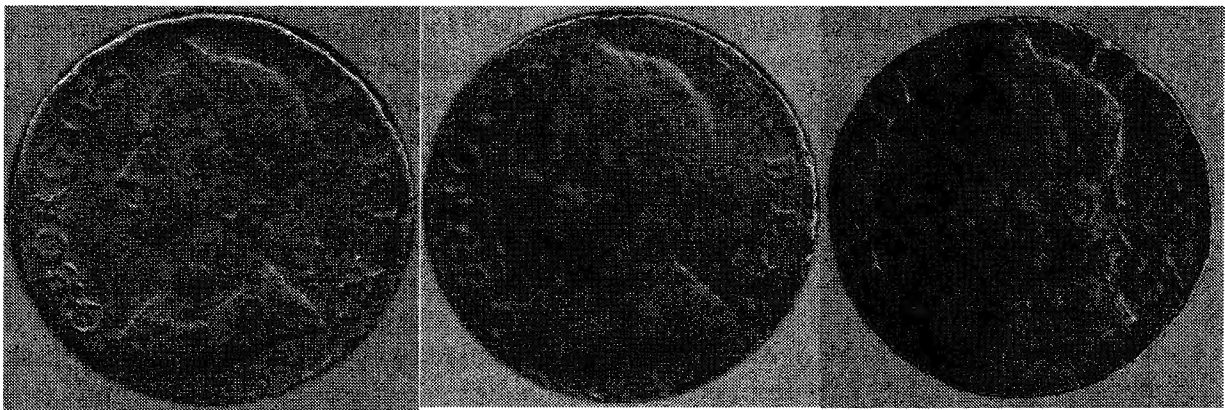
The very nature of the counterfeiting trade rules out precise estimates of its magnitude. But there is no doubt that it was conducted on a vast scale, with Birmingham and London serving as its manufacturing headquarters, and that its magnitude grew as the 18th century wore on. Already in 1676, only four years after regal copper coins were first introduced, extensive counterfeiting triggered an Order of Council putting a temporary stop to their production, which was later (in 1693 and again in 1701) assigned to private patentees, with even more disastrous consequences, until being finally renewed at the Royal Mint in 1717. Thereafter the counterfeiting problem grew more and more serious, despite legal reforms and private initiatives aimed at checking it, so that, by mid-century, something like half of all the copper coins in circulation were counterfeit, both according to an informed contemporary estimate and according to the contents of a hoard of copper coins dating from the same time and unearthed many years later. Toward the end of the century the percentage of false coppers had grown larger still, with estimates placing it between five-sixths and over *nine-tenths* of the total!

A popular view imagines coin counterfeiters as solitary and shadowy figures, forging their wares in dark hovels and surreptitiously taking smallish parcels of them in person to the marketplace to be either fobbed-off on unsuspecting retailers at face value or quietly sold at discount to unscrupulous factory owners. The vision, although true in parts, misconstrues important features of the counterfeit trade in Birmingham (where techniques developed for making metal buttons were easily adapted to reproducing copper coins) and elsewhere in 18th-century England. First, the trade was to a surprising extent conducted in the open, and often on a large scale, and especially so toward the end of the century despite a substantial harshening of penalties in 1771. Thus in 1780 *Aris's Gazette* noted with regret “The amazing Quantity of Counterfeit Halfpence now in Circulation, and the great Effrontery with which they are given in Payment, in open Contempt, or Defiance of the Laws for their Suppression” (Langford 1868, p. 231). Another Birmingham witness, writing decades afterwards, observed similarly that “the trade was carried on so openly, that I often wondered at people’s hardihood considering the severity of the punishment.” At the tail-end of the century, as he was preparing to launch his own (authorized) regal coppers, Matthew Boulton likewise noted (in a letter to Sir George Shuckburgh-Evelyn, M.P.) how “Many of our Knights of the Saddle Bag, take out on their journeys, pattern cards of halfpence to get orders from us regularly as they do of Buttons” and how some counterfeit manufacturers even had “the audacity to hang up Signs in the street ALL SORTS OF COPPER COINS MADE HERE.” In London, according to police magistrate Patrick Colquhoun, the trade had grown so extensive that scarcely a wagon or coach left town that wasn’t laden with boxes of fraudulent coin bound for various provincial camps, seaports, and manufacturing towns.

Second, like legitimate commercial token makers who appeared on the scene starting in 1787, and unlike the Royal Mint, counterfeit manufacturers generally did not participate in the retail end of the business. Instead, they acted as artisans or journeymen, making, say, 72 halfpence from a pound (avoirdupois), or about 11 pence worth, of good copper (as compared to the Mint's standard of 46 to the pound) and selling them in bulk for anywhere from one-half to about a fifth of their face value (depending on the shams' quality) to large dealers, who in turn resold them for a smaller discount to manufacturers, merchants and other clients who placed regular orders for small change or to utterers or "smashers" who placed them into general circulation. In London counterfeit smashers consisted, according to Colquhoun, of Irishmen and the "lower orders of the jews," with certain dealers holding "a kind of market, every morning, where from forty to fifty Jew boys are regularly supplied with counterfeit halfpence."

The abundance of counterfeits toward the end of the century gives some indication of the scale of counterfeit manufacturing business. According to Colquhoun, who examined the problem at length in his influential *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, two or three persons could stamp and finish £200-300 worth (nominal value) of counterfeits—or between 96,000 and 144,000 halfpennies—in the course of a six day week; and there were, by the mid-90s, over 50 counterfeit manufacturing operations at work, mainly in Birmingham and London, and Bristol, including several large-scale operations running several presses at once.

Although counterfeiters' scale of production was impressive, the quality of their products was often anything but. We thus arrive at a crucial distinction that plays an important part in the discussion to follow: the distinction between "good" counterfeits, meaning those that were convincing enough to fool even Mint authorities, and "bad" ones, meaning those that at best fooled members of the general public only, and probably not many of them.



George II Halfpennies: (1) Genuine. (2) Genuine but worn. (3) Counterfeit.

While some counterfeits bore authentic-looking engravings, "bad" counterfeits were far more numerous than good ones. Up to mid-century most counterfeits were cast rather than stamped, even though the Royal Mint had not made use of cast copper blanks since the reign of William III. By the early 1750s counterfeiters had begun employing screw presses and dies intentionally cut shallow to imitate old "milled" Hanoverian coppers, but even these stamped counterfeits were usually very much inferior to authentic halfpennies,

or at least to authentic halfpennies in good condition, being typically made to a standard of 72d per pound weight of copper, as compared to the Mint's 46. By century's end, the proportion of "bad" counterfeits was especially high, with few counterfeiters even bothering to endow their coins with engravings resembling those on their official counterparts. Instead, many produced "plain halfpence," possessing no engravings at all, while others manufactured so-called regal "evasives" bearing spurious legends that just barely got around the anti-counterfeiting statutes.

Some writers have attributed the presence of such obvious frauds to widespread illiteracy. But this explanation, although it might conceivably account for someone being unable to tell the difference between "GEORGIUS III REX" and "GOD SAVE US ALL," can hardly account for the equally widespread circulation of plain and decidedly underweight halfpence and for the continued circulation of cast counterfeits long after the last official cast monies had been issued. A better explanation for the presence of so many bad counterfeits was the severe shortages of official coin, and (before 1787) the lack of good commercial substitutes, that compelled people to accept obviously bad money, albeit often at a discount, rather than forego payment entirely. "Ordinary folk," Royal Mint historian John Craig has observed, "if short of small change, cared nothing about intrinsic value, high quality of copper, pattern or limits of legal tender" (Craig 1953, 253). Indeed, when provincial shopkeepers attempted, as they did on numerous occasions, to cooperate with each other in refusing counterfeit money, their resolutions merely succeeded in curtailing sales and sparking riots.¹

Publick Virtue?

In light of the sort of evidence just considered, modern historians have tended to treat 18th-century counterfeiters as criminals whose crime was, not only victimless, but largely beneficial, like the conduct of so many Robin Hoods. "In point of fact," Feaveryear (1963, p. 169) observes, "so long as the Government was unable to find a method of providing the country with a sound and adequate coinage [counterfeiting] was a good thing... The counterfeiter tended to fill up the void, and he could do no harm to the standard."

There is much to be said for this perspective: after all, people needed small money, and the poor needed it most of all; and even shoddy money was better than no money at all. Indeed, paradoxically enough, the very badness of the clumsiest counterfeits made them particularly benign, because they could *only* gain acceptance where good coin was in short supply. "Bad" counterfeits can for this reason be said to have made the general public better off than it might have been otherwise. Although presumably fictional, the purported testimony of a talking, low-end Brummagem ha'pence, as recorded in a 1772 "romance," makes the point credibly enough:

¹ Individual retailers were, on the other hand, powerless to do anything about counterfeits, for if any one attempted to refuse them, he merely drove his business away to others who would not.

At least one Birmingham hawker went so far as to advertise his willingness to trade for counterfeits, and was dragged to court for his trouble (Wager p. 16).

In these modern times, though I am often found among the mean and the vulgar, I am more frequently to be met with in pompous courts and palaces. Without me, many think trade and commerce would dwindle to a shadow, and the retail trades be totally ruined. In short, there is scarce any situation whatever, in which I am not particularly serviceable; and yet such is the ingratitude of mankind in general, that my name in public is universally despised and disowned, even by those who in private endearingly caress me.²

"Good" (that is, convincing) counterfeits were another matter altogether, for although these also could and did help to alleviate shortages, their ability to fool even Mint authorities meant that they could be placed into circulation even where legitimate coins were not in short supply, thus potentially contributing to an overall coin surplus. So long as official coins were not convertible, such a surplus could drive the entire stock of small change to a discount, seriously undermining the efficiency of exchange. If, on the other hand, official coins *were* made convertible on demand into precious metal coins, then the multiplication of good counterfeits would tend to undermine that convertibility by exhausting the issuing authority's reserves of legal tender. Good counterfeits thus tended to throw a wrench in what might otherwise have been a smoothly working official small change system. Rather than simply making up for shortages of official coin, they deserved at least part of the blame for those shortages, for as long as the Royal Mint had reason to fear that its fiduciary coins might be convincingly as well as profitably imitated, it did not dare offer to redeem its own issues; and so long as the Mint refused to redeem its own issues, it could not eliminate local shortages without generating surpluses (and associated complaints) elsewhere. Good counterfeits—or simply the possibility thereof—thus made room for bad ones. It follows that, despite the substantially greater abundance bad counterfeits, and the fact that a good counterfeit was a perfect substitute for a genuine coin in the eyes of both employers and workers, it was the good counterfeits that ultimately did the most damage to the British monetary system, preventing it from addressing the public's small change needs. Unless someone could come up with a way to rule such counterfeits out, British manufacturers and workers would have to muddle their way through the rest of the century without the benefit of an adequate coin supply, even if that meant putting off all or part of the industrial revolution they were trying to get under way.

Paper Money

Today, with the exception of traveler's checks, "private money" is practically synonymous with bank deposits that can be transferred using checks and, lately, plastic cards. During the eighteenth century, however, checks were hardly employed at all. Private banks did, however, issue their own circulating paper notes, which could take the place of coin. Although such notes would wear out too rapidly to be practical substitutes for copper coin, they might in principal have taken the place of silver, thereby going a long way towards addressing the overall shortage of small change. In reality, however, they were not allowed to do even this much, thanks to oppressive steps taken by the British government.

² Anonymous, *The Birmingham Counterfeit; or Invisible Spectator. A Sentimental Romance*. London: S. Bladen, 1772.

The first British bank to gain widespread acceptance for its notes was the Bank of England, founded in 1694 not, as some suppose, to shore-up the British monetary system, but as a means for financing a preemptive strike against the dreaded French. The "Old Lady of Threadneedle Street," with the many special privileges she enjoyed, proved exceedingly profitable. But for reasons difficult to square with the profit motive, she refused to set foot outside of the City until the government forced her to do so, by setting up branch offices, in 1826, and so acquired a second (since forgotten) moniker, namely, the "Bank of London." Moreover the Bank would not condescend to having its name appear on notes for less than the princely sum of £20 prior to 1759, or less than £10 prior to 1793, when the first five-pound Bank of England notes appeared. Consequently Bank of England notes were not readily accepted, and were only rarely seen, in the provinces, and could be of little use to the middling sort, let alone the poor, even in London.

So it was up to other banks, and banks in the countryside especially, to supply paper currency that could serve in retail trade and in the payment of wages. Unfortunately, an act of 1708 had given the Bank of England a monopoly of joint-stock banking in return for its agreeing to purchase some Exchequer bills that the government badly wished to sell, causing so-called "country" banks to remain undercapitalized, and to fail disconcertingly often. As Lawrence White has observed (1984, p. 39), "It became popular in England to attribute the instability of these banks to their issues of small notes rather than their undercapitalization." Parliament responded by temporarily banning the issuance of notes under one pound in 1775. Two years later, the ban was renewed, as it would be repeatedly until 1787, when it became indefinite, while the minimum legal denomination was made £5. Not entirely coincidentally, perhaps, the granting of indefinite status to the ban coincided with the first appearance of copper tokens.

North of the Tweed banking remained free throughout the eighteenth century from most of the constraints and privileges that had hindered its development in England and Wales. By mid century several chartered "public" or joint-stock banks had been established, and both they and smaller, private banks issued notes for denominations under £1 beginning in the 1750s. Some smaller banks actually made small notes their specialty, even issuing paper worth as little as one shilling. As such notes became more abundant, complaints arose, mainly (according to one Victorian-era source) from "country gentlemen, led on by some who visited Edinburgh occasionally," and given to "exaggerated assertions, fallacious inferences, and ridiculous fears" (Boase 1867, p. 2; cited in White 1984, pp. 29-30; compare Macleod *Theory and Practice of Banking* pp. 436ff). Whether warranted or not, the perception that Scotland was in the grips of a "small note mania," which representatives of the chartered banks were all too happy to confirm, under oath, eventually caused London to intervene, by prohibiting the issuance of notes under one pound effective 1765. After 1777, the £1 notes of Scottish banks, which had already been circulating in northern England, gained greater currency there and could even be found further south. Still, even the Scottish banks were powerless to counter shortages of subsidiary currency.³

³ Because the Bank of England had been issuing redeemable notes since its establishment in 1694, and Scottish banks had been doing the same for many decades prior to 1776, Sargent and Velde (2001, 269-70) err in writing that Adam Smith "proposed that banks be allowed to issue paper notes if they would promise to convert them into specie on demand" and that he got the idea by observing the successful private issuance of copper tokens. Smith could not propose what was already established practice. Nor did he

In summary, as John Rule (1992, p. 203) points out, "however impressive historians may find the range of accepted paper in use in the eighteenth-century economy, for the bulk of the population money still meant coin, and that was short in quantity and poor in quality."

Commercial Coins

Deprived of small banknotes, ignored by the Royal Mint, sick of having to deal with bad shillings and doubtful halfpennies, and unable to make do with such except by aggravating if not injuring their workers, manufacturers and other businessmen desperately sought some other source of relief. Finally, in 1787, one of them determined that, if the Mint was unwilling to supply his firm with good-quality small change, he would do it himself, giving birth to what soon became a thriving private copper token industry.

This was, in fact, the second time in which competitively produced commercial copper coins, bearing their issuers identities (and thus distinguished from counterfeit Royal coins or evasives) served as Britain's principal small-denomination exchange medium. Private copper tokens, issued without any sort of license from the government, were resorted to once before, between 1649 and 1672, in response to the failure of Lord Harrington's copper farthings. These farthings, issued beginning in 1613 under Royal patent, were light and shoddy and easily counterfeited. Not surprisingly, Harrington refused to honor the commitment he had made to redeem them in silver, thereby depriving them of their currency since they had no legal tender standing whatever. Further issues were finally discontinued by Charles I. The unauthorized private tokens (mostly farthings and halfpennies, with some pennies) that took their place were, in contrast, redeemed in silver, though only locally, their issuers consisting mainly of reputable town authorities or councils in addition to some private tradesmen and shopkeepers. Precisely how these private issuers protected themselves from counterfeiters isn't clear: although their tokens were better than Lord Harrington's had been, they were still on the whole of mediocre design and execution. In any event they never circulated very widely, and there weren't all that many of them.

At first the government tolerated the unauthorized tokens, but then it sought to re-affirm its coinage prerogative by forcing the Mint to begin producing its own milled copper coins, and by declaring the private tokens illegal. Despite the availability of regal substitutes the private tokens proved so popular that the original, 1672 proclamation suppressing them had to be followed by others on October, 17th, 1673 and on December 12th, 1674. The last proclamation prolonged the tokens' legality until February 5th, 1675. As of the latter date, magistrates were under strict orders to prosecute offenders: after all, their unauthorized small coins were preventing the new Royal farthings from being dispersed! (Snelling 1760, p. 36.)

That the old law proscribing private tokens was still on the books made renewed resort to such tokens during the late 18th century a risky undertaking. Despite this the new tokens were issued on a far vaster scale than their 17th century predecessors had been—a scale approaching, in the space of a decade, the combined regal copper issues of the

propose any further liberalization of Scottish banking law. On the contrary, he endorsed the 1765 ban on small notes.

preceding century. Just as significantly, the new tokens turned out to be some of the best-designed coins ever produced anywhere, as well as the first token coins to be sufficiently counterfeit-proof to carry redemption pledges credible enough to make them current, not only in those places where they were issued, but often many miles away, and, in some instances, nationally. They were, in short, better than any small change ever produced by the Royal Mint or, for that matter, by any government mint anywhere. And they couldn't have made their appearance at a more crucial moment in Great Britain's economic history, for it was only thanks to them, and to the people who made and issued them, that Great Britain was able to become the world's first industrial nation.

The story of Great Britain's commercial coinage is above all else, as John Roger Scott Whiting (1979, p. 11) phrases it, "a story of the initiative of local authorities, companies and individuals in the face of state ineptitude." But it is also the story of intense and often cutthroat competition among the token makers themselves, which was the ultimate force driving them to produce coins of exceptional quality, but which had little else in common with economists' notion of "perfect competition." In particular, the commercial coinage story is the story of a superficially cordial but often rancorous battle of wits between two of Great Britain's industrial giants—Matthew Boulton, the visionary and fatherly Prince of Soho, and Thomas Williams, Anglesey's pragmatic and hard-driving Copper King.

Sources

While Thomas Sargent and François Velde's *The Big Problem of Small Change* (Princeton University Press, 2002) is now the definitive general historical and theoretical treatment of the small change problem, the best discussion of the problem in 18th-century Great Britain is still to be found in Ashton's *Economic History of Great Britain during the 18th Century* (1962, chap.). Two recent works by John Rule (...) serve as a useful supplement to Ashton's work, by bringing together more recent research findings, especially concerning labor market conditions and the development of Great Britain's manufacturing sector. These works also contain good discussions of truck and other devices resorted to by employers partly or mainly in order to economize on coin.

Concerning British coinage policy the essential work is Sir John Craig's *The Mint*, which despite being more than half a century old is far more readable, if not more informative, than *A New History of the Royal Mint*, ed. C. A. Challis (), which was supposed to supersede it. My treatment of bimetallism has mainly been informed by Angela Redish's recent book on the subject, *Bimetallism* (Cambridge University Press, 2000). Lastly, details concerning the counterfeiting trade come mainly from Patrick Colquhoun's highly influential *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*.

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The Bacon of Dunmow, and Why it Needs a Lawyer
(D&H Essex 11, 11a, 11b, 22-32)
By Tony Fox

Many Dunmow issues feature a flitch, which, in Essex dialect, is a side of bacon (1). The fame of the Dunmow Flitch is because it can be awarded or denied as the result of a court trial, usually held amidst much festivity. The standard weight for this prize is about 25-30 lb; pigs of about 100 lbs, marketed at the age of about 6 - 8 months, can provide two flitches apiece. In one movie, set during the period of wartime food rationing in the UK, the "flitch" of a small donkey was secretly substituted for that of a then highly-regulated Dunmow pig.

In 1086, Dunmow was of sufficient importance to give its name to an entire Hundred within the county of Essex. The trial of the Dunmow Flitch must be almost as old. D&H, quoting a Victorian authority, says the tradition began in 1198 but the precise date is uncertain (2,3). However, it is certain that the Flitch Court was well-established by 1340, because Chaucer mentions it in his "*Wife of Bath*".

The Court's officers include the Judge, the Chaplain, the Usher, a number of bailiffs, and a jury, comprised of six bachelors and six maidens (i.e., spinsters). A case in this Court is known as a "cause", and the plaintiffs are known as claimants. Couples from anywhere in the world may apply to become claimants. The trial of the Dunmow Flitch follows an ancient legal procedure, which is maintained to this day.

First, the claimants are required to take the following oath:

THE FLITCH OATH

YOU DO SWEAR BY CUSTOM OF CONFESSION
THAT YOU NE'ER MADE NUPTIAL TRANSGRESSION
NOR SINCE YOU WERE MARRIED MAN AND WIFE
BY HOUSEHOLD BRAWLS OR CONTENTIOUS STRIFE
OR OTHERWISE IN BED OR AT BOARD
OFFENDED EACH OTHER IN DEED OR IN WORD
OR IN A TWELVE MONTHS TIME AND A DAY
REPENTED NOT IN THOUGHT IN ANY WAY
OR SINCE THE CHURCH CLERK SAID AMEN
WISH'T YOURSELVES UNMARRIED AGAIN
BUT CONTINUE TRUE AND DESIRE
AS WHEN YOU JOINED HANDS IN HOLY QUIRE.

Legally, the claimant couple then take the role of plaintiff and the flitch becomes the notional defendant. Claimant couples usually retain a barrister (4). The claimants, through their barrister, must persuade both the judge and the jury that they qualify for the flitch because they have lived together for a year and a day without transgressing their

relationship, offending their partner, or otherwise wishing themselves unwed. The Dunmow Town Council appoints the Barrister for the Flitch who argues that the flitch should be retained for the benefit of the town because the claimants do not possess the qualifications (i.e., that there has been matrimonial disharmony during the preceding 366 days). Witnesses are called by each side, and are liable to cross-examination. In modern times, the Court has not required that the barristers be legally qualified, although, if not, then they are commonly well-known, nationally-recognized public speakers or parliamentarians (e.g., Claire Rayner and Sir Clement Freud). The town sentiment is usually with the claimants, provided that the proceedings are sufficiently entertaining ! After a favourable verdict, successful claimants are often borne in chairs, shoulder-high, around the town.

D&H nos. 11, 11a, and 11b differ in their edges which are milled, inscribed "Skidmore Holborn London", or left plain, respectively. These lowest D&H numbered Dunmow issues feature a flitch on the reverse, without its frame but otherwise in much the same posture as the one in Figure 1; the surrounding inscription is "Payable at Dunmow Essex". The obverse is a shield with a poor heraldic design. The upper half of the shield is divided left and right, and from the lower part. All three resulting sectors have the same sword on the same background; good heraldry would not have introduced the lines on such a shield at all. This obverse has the phrase "May Dunmow Prosper 1793". Peter Skidmore was the manufacturer of many souvenir tokens, and there is no particular connexion between him and Dunmow (1). Since all three tokens represent only single design changes from each other, their chronological order cannot be speculated upon. None are easy to find.

Nos. 11, 11a, and 11b show a corrected letter D in the inscription surrounding the shield. This did not prevent this obverse from being continued in D&H nos. 12-21.

Thereafter (D&H nos. 22-32), the flitch was promoted to the obverse, and a large variety of different reverses employed. Many of these reverses also appear in the catalogues of other counties, and some bear the Skidmore inscription on their edges. In much the same way as we are currently witnessing in the USA the series of 50 quarters (with one reverse for each state), it would appear that Skidmore was creating as many variants as possible in order to attract and retain collectors seeking a complete set of Dunmow halfpennies. The overall feeling is that Skidmore had discovered that Dunmow was a good market, and worth investing in more engraving. Combinations of Dunmow shields or flitches with Middlesex designs, images of David Garrick, Earl Howe of Hampshire, Hendon Church, etc., seems to me to be somewhat surreal !

In any case, for the reasons of a newly discovered "tourist trade", it seems reasonable to propose that nos. 12-32 are all chronologically later than 11 – 11b. It might be proposed that since the shield survives from no.11 to 21, but not thereafter, then nos.12-21 probably preceded nos.22-32. However, the flitch reappears in nos. 22-32, so these two groups could also be contemporaneous. Within each group, no chronological order can be proposed, except that no.20 must be later than no.19 because D&H describes it as being from the same die but with alteration of the date to 1795.

Given the motives for creating such a wide variety of Dunmow tokens, and the absence of a portrait bust in the design, the D&H attribution of obverse and reverse seems to me to be a bit arbitrary. It is, nonetheless, very useful for the purpose of systematic cataloguing. Thumbing through my copy of D&H, I have not yet found another dual, parallel series of Conders with the design of a parent reverse becoming an offspring obverse. If the Dunmow Flitch has really flown from reverse to obverse, then, evidently, pigs can fly !

The Court of the Dunmow Flitch is usually held over two or three days about every four years. In 2000, five couples were successful claimants. The Court will next sit on July 10, 2004.

Figure 1: A Dunmow flitch, ready to be carried into Court in its decorated sedan chair-type frame.



Figure 2. Officers of the Court during the Dunmow Flitch trials in the year 2000. Left: the Judge, Michael Chapman LLB. Right: Barrister for the Flitch, Mrs. Claire Rayner OBE, SRN, cross-examining a witness.



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3. Essex had about 20 hundreds or half-hundreds. Some of the parish names suggest ancient intermingling between Dunmow and Ongar Hundreds, but these details of Anglo-saxon history of Essex are beyond the scope of this article.
4. In the United Kingdom there are two types of lawyer, termed solicitors and barristers. Solicitors are the legal strategists, and are in charge of the case. Barristers are the people in gowns and wigs that do most of the speaking in open public court. Modern reforms have allowed solicitors to speak in some lower courts (suitably gowned), although few choose to do so. Most judges are still drawn from the ranks of the barristers. Medical doctors sometimes also appear in Court wearing their academic gowns, especially when acting as Coroners or Justices of the Peace.

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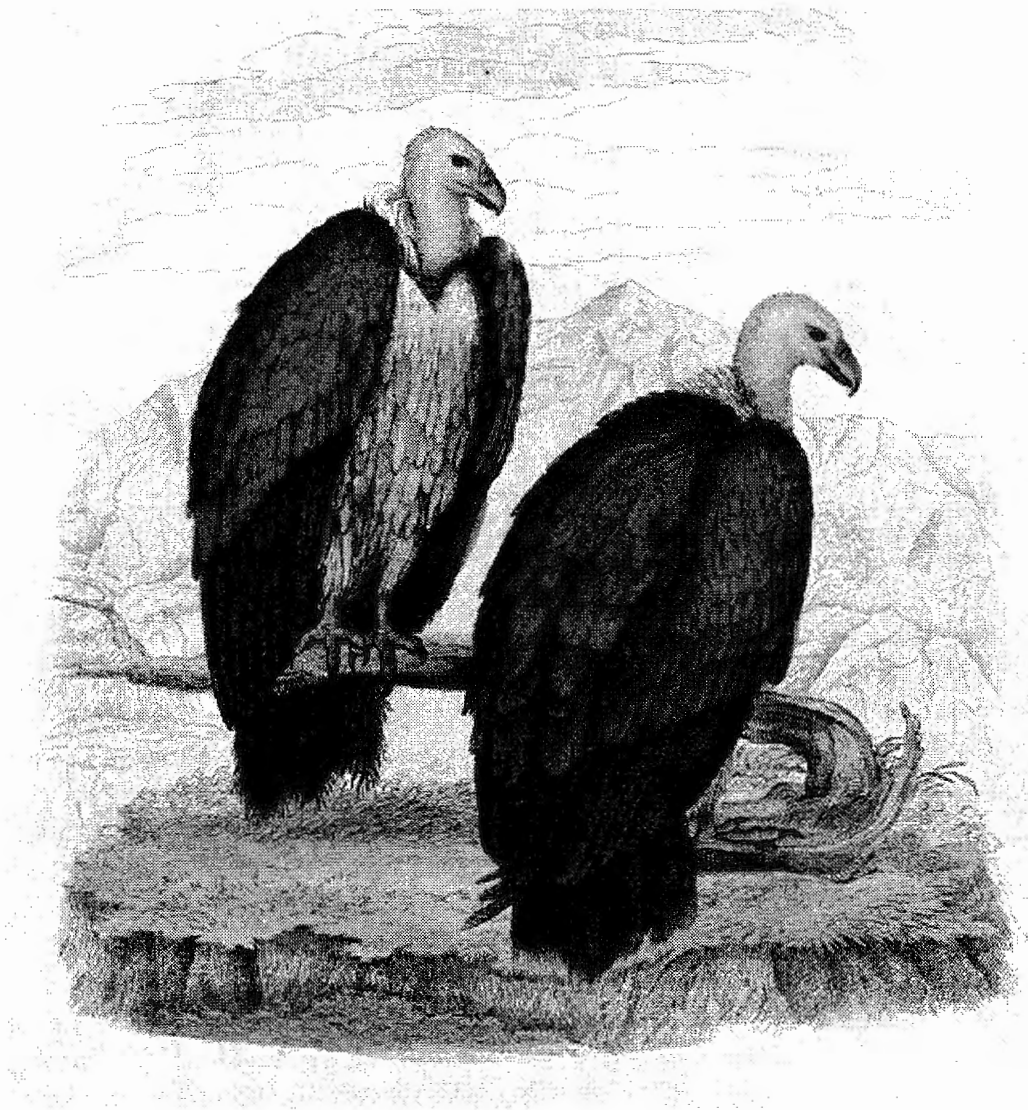
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